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TAGS: ECON, YO
SUBJ: REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES STRENGTHEN THEIR ROLE IN THE
YUGOSLAV ECONOMY UNDER LATEST REVISIONS IN SELF-
MANAGEMENT THEORY

SUMMARY: IMPLEMENTATION OF THE LATEST REVISION OF YUGOSLAV
SELF-MANAGEMENT THEORY HAS BEEN SLOWER THAN EXPECTED, AS
CONFUSION, DISAGREEMENTS AND EVEN RESISTANCE TO THE
APPLICATION OF THE THEORETICAL CHANGES TO THE EXISTING
ECONOMY REMAIN STRONG. ONE TREND THAT HAS EMERGED, HOWEVER,
IS THE TRANSFER OF A SIGNIFICANT AMOUNT OF ECONOMIC
DECISION-MAKING FROM THE FEDERAL TO THE REPUBLICAN AND
PROVINCIAL LEVEL. THIS PARTIALLY REFLECTS -- AND MAY EASILY
EXACERBATE -- THE STRONG NATIONALISTIC TENDENCIES IN
YUGOSLAVIA.

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1. YUGOSLAV SELF-MANAGEMENT THEORY HAS UNDERGONE PERIODIC
REVISIONS IN RESPONSE TO THEORETICAL AND PRAGMATIC
CONSIDERATIONS. THE LATEST IN THIS SERIES BEGAN WITH THE
PASSAGE OF A NEW CONSTITUTION IN 1974, DESIGNED TO INCREASE
THE INFLUENCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER OVER HIS TOTAL WORK
ENVIRONMENT. THE BASIC PRINCIPLE BEHIND THIS EFFORT IS
THAT POWER, PLANNING, AND DECISION-MAKING SHOULD FLOW

UPWARDS IN PYRAMID FASHION FROM THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER THRU HIS BOAL (BASIC ORGANIZATION OF ASSOCIATED LABOR) TO HIGHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY -- INCLUDING THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, REPUBLIC AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS, AND INDUSTRY-WIDE ASSOCIATIONS.

2. THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CONCEPT, IN THEORY AT LEAST, ARE VERY SIGNIFICANT. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD NOT, FOR EXAMPLE, ARBITRARILY DETERMINE AN IMPORT RESTRICTION POLICY OR MANDATE AREAS OF INVESTMENT - THESE DECISIONS SHOULD ORIGINATE AT THE WORKER LEVELS AND EVOLVE THROUGH A LENGTHY CONSULTATIVE PROCESS INTO NATIONAL POLICY; BANKS SHOULD NOT BE INDEPENDENT DECISION-MAKERS, BUT SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS FOR THEIR BOAL/ENTERPRISE FOUNDERS; AND INDIVIDUAL WORKERS THROUGH THEIR BOALS SHOULD BE ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS IN ANY AND ALL DECISIONS AFFECTING THEM ECONOMICALLY - WHETHER IT CONCERNS THE QUANTITY OF A PRODUCT TO BE PRODUCED NATIONWIDE, THE PRICES THE BOAL CHARGES OR IS CHARGED FOR PRODUCTS, INDUSTRY-WIDE INVESTMENT POLICY, AND SO ON.

3. WHILE EMBASSY ANALYSTS HAVE BEEN SKEPTICAL THROUGHOUT THIS PROCESS ABOUT THE DEGREE OF REAL POWER THAT WOULD BE TRANSFERRED FROM THE LCY AND THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO THE INDIVIDUAL WORKER, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE YUGOSLAVS TOOK THE PROCESS VERY SERIOUSLY. SINCE THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CONSTITUTION WAS PASSED, THE GOVERNMENT APPARATUS HAS BEEN CONSTANTLY INVOLVED IN CHANGING VIRTUALLY EVERY LAW DEALING WITH THE ECONOMY TO HAVE THEM CONFORM TO THE NEW TWISTS IN SELF-MANAGEMENT THEORY. THIS HAS BEEN AN AGONIZING PROCESS, AS VIRTUALLY EVERY LAW HAS BEEN DEBATED IN DETAIL, DRAFTED AND REDRAFTED, PRIOR TO PASSAGE. FOUR YEARS AFTER THE PASSAGE OF THE CONSTITUTION IN FACT, SEVERAL MAJOR LAWS HAVE YET TO BE PASSED- INCLUDING THOSE ON PRICING, INCOME, AND JOINT VENTURES. EVEN THOSE THAT HAVE BEEN PASSED HAVE IN MANY CASES NOT YET BEEN APPLIED, AS DETAILS CONCERNING THEIR IMPLEMENTATION HAVE NOT YET BEEN CLARIFIED.

4. THE REASONS FOR THIS DELAY AND THE UNCERTAINTY WHICH EXISTS TODAY ARE MANY. CERTAINLY A MAJOR FACTOR IS THE RELUCTANCE OF INSTITUTIONS AND INDIVIDUALS HAVING POWER UNDER THE OLD SYSTEM TO SURRENDER IT TO OTHERS. BANKS, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE RESISTANT TO THE IDEA THAT THEY SHOULD CEASE TO MAKE INDEPENDENT POLICY AND CREDIT JUDGMENTS

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AND TURN THESE DECISIONS OVER TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THEIR
BOAL/ENTERPRISE FOUNDERS. ANOTHER PROBLEM IS THAT WHILE
THE OVERALL THEORY HAS BEEN ARTICULATED IN GREAT DETAIL
BY THE PARTY AND SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, NO ONE
SEEMS TO BE OVERSEEING, DIRECTING, AND DECIDING ON THE
DETAILS OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE THEORY. THUS
COMMUNITIES OF INTEREST IN EACH REPUBLIC SET UP TO CONTROL
FOREIGN EXCHANGE TRANSACTIONS ARE STILL ONLY THEORETICAL
ORGANIZATIONS. THE PRACTICAL DETAILS ARE NOT YET DECIDED.
THE NEW SYSTEM CALLS FOR AN ELABORATE DEGREE OF
COORDINATION - AND UNANIMOUS APPROVAL - OF VIRTUALLY
ANY DECISION. THIS BY ITSELF SLOWS DOWN - OR STOPS - ALL
DECISION-MAKING. YUGOSLAVIA IS NOW IN THE THIRD YEAR OF
ITS 1976-1980 FIVE YEAR PLAN AND CERTAIN KEY AGREEMENTS IN
PRIORITY SECTORS HAVE YET TO BE REACHED, MOSTLY DUE TO
THIS NEED FOR UNANIMITY - WHICH CONTRASTS SHARPLY WITH
THE FUNDAMENTALLY DIFFERENT VIEWS AMONG THE REPUBLICS ON
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MANY KEY ISSUES.

5. ONE TREND WHICH HAS EMERGED IN THIS PROCESS IS THAT

THERE HAS BEEN A SIGNIFICANT POWER SHIFT FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO THE REPUBLICS AND AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES. WHILE MANY OF THE INVESTMENT, PRODUCTION AND PRICING INITIATIVES UNDOUBTEDLY ORIGINATE WITH INDIVIDUAL ENTERPRISES, THE COORDINATION OF THESE DECISIONS NATION-WIDE IS ALMOST ALWAYS DONE AMONG THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES. THEY HAVE THUS BECOME THE FOCAL POINT FOR MUCH OF THE ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING WHICH TAKES PLACE IN YUGOSLAVIA. FURTHERMORE, SEVERAL OF THE NEW LAWS TREAT THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES AS INDEPENDENT ENTITIES MUCH MORE THAN HAS BEEN THE CASE UNTIL NOW. THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES ILLUSTRATE THE TYPE OF CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE: (A) ACCORDING TO THE NEW LAWS ON FOREIGN TRADE AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE, REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THEIR INDIVIDUAL BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SITUATIONS AND FOREIGN INDEBTEDNESS. TO BE SURE, THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES ARE REQUIRED TO COORDINATE THEIR POSITIONS IN ADVANCE AND TAKE THE WHOLE COUNTRY'S POSITION INTO CONSIDERATION, BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT THE REPUBLICS WILL HAVE MORE FLEXIBILITY AND RESPONSIBILITY IN INTERNATIONAL FINANCE AND TRADE THAN AT PRESENT. THE GOVERNOR OF ONE OF THE REPUBLIC NATIONAL BANKS WAS VERY ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THIS DEVELOPMENT, STATING THAT IT WOULD GREATLY INCREASE THE ACCOUNTABILITY OF EACH REPUBLIC AND THAT THOSE AREAS THAT TO DATE HAD OVERSPENT WOULD NOW BE CALLED TO ACCOUNT. (B) THE GOVERNING BODY OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF YUGOSLAVIA CONSISTS OF THE GOVERNOR OF THE BANK AND THE GOVERNORS OF THE NATIONAL BANKS OF EACH REPUBLIC AND PROVINCE. RECENTLY THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES HAVE BEGUN THRU THEIR RESPECTIVE GOVERNORS TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PLAY A FAR MORE ACTIVE ROLE THAN THEY DID EARLIER. (C) THE NEW LAW ON PRICES IS NOT YET SIGNED BECAUSE THE ORIGINAL DRAFT GAVE TOO MUCH DECISION-MAKING POWER TO THE FEDERAL INSTITUTE FOR PRICES. THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES PROTESTED THAT THIS AUTOCRATIC AUTHORITY WAS CONTRARY TO THE CONSTITUTION AND SELF-MANAGEMENT THEORY AND SUCCEEDED IN HAVING THE DRAFT RETURNED FOR REVISION. (D) DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO RESOLVE THE ISSUE, THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES CANNOT COME TO AGREEMENT ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE OIL AND GAS INDUSTRY THRU 1980, ALTHOUGH YUGOSLAVIA IS NOW IN THE THIRD YEAR OF ITS FIVE-YEAR PLAN. THIS REFLECTS THE DESIRE FOR ENERGY SELF-SUFFICIENCY VERY EVIDENT IN EACH REPUBLIC AND THE POWER OF THESE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES IN THESE MATTERS. THERE IS NO CENTRAL CONTROL THAT HAS BEEN APPLIED TO EXPEDITE THESE PROBLEMS, REGARDLESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ISSUE TO THE ECONOMY AS A WHOLE. IN EFFECT EACH REPUBLIC IS PURSUING ITS OWN OIL AND GAS POLICY.

(E) THE DRAFT OF THE LAW ON THE YUGOSLAV BANK FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION WAS RETURNED FOR REVISION BECAUSE IT GAVE THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL TOO MUCH SAY IN THE MANAGEMENT OF THE NEW BANK - TO THE DISSATISFACTION OF THE REPUBLICS.

6. COMMENT: THE YUGOSLAV ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS BEEN MARKED

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IN THE PAST DECADES BY A GREAT DEAL OF TINKERING, PRIMARILY BY POLITICIANS WHO APPARENTLY BELIEVE THAT MAKING CHANGES WILL SOLVE FUNDAMENTAL ECONOMIC OR PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS. NATIONALISM HAS ALSO PLAYED AN IMPORTANT PART, BOTH IN ENCOURAGING A BROADER ROLE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES IN AN ATTEMPT TO SATISFY NATIONALISTIC FEELING AND IN CAUSING A RETREAT TO CENTRALISM WHEN THOSE FEELINGS WERE PERCEIVED AS GETTING OUT OF CONTROL.

7. YUGOSLAVIA IS ENTERING A PERIOD WHERE THE INFLUENCE OF THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES IN ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING IS ONCE AGAIN INCREASING. SO MUCH SO THAT INDIVIDUAL REPUBLICS THROUGH EXERCISE OF THEIR VETO POWER ARE OFTEN

ABLE TO SATISFY THEIR OWN PARTICULAR NEEDS/WANTS AT THE
EXPENSE OF THE REAL NEEDS OF THE FEDERATION (FOR INSTANCE,
THE ENERGY POLICY). AS A RESULT YUGOSLAVIA IS FINDING
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IT DIFFICULT TO FORMULATE AND IMPLEMENT INVESTMENT AND
TRADE POLICY. THIS IS OCCURRING AT THE VERY TIME WHEN
THE ECONOMY IS FACED WITH ITS BIGGEST TRADE AND CURRENT
ACCOUNT DEFICIT IN HISTORY AND FIRM, TIMELY MEASURES ARE
NEEDED TO BRING THE SITUATION UNDER CONTROL. UNLESS THE
REPUBLICS PROVE MORE COOPERATIVE, THE PRAGMATIC YUGOSLAVS
MAY WELL DECIDE, AS THEY HAVE IN THE PAST, THAT
EXPEDIENCY REQUIRES THAT ECONOMIC STABILIZATION COMES
AHEAD OF PHILOSOPHY. CERTAINLY THE LCY AND FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT ARE STILL HIGHLY POWERFUL AND HAVE NOT
LOST ULTIMATE CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY'S POLICY
DECISIONS - IF THEY DECIDE TO EXERCISE IT.

8. IT IS DIFFICULT TO JUDGE WHETHER THE CURRENT
TREND TOWARDS A FORM OF DECENTRALIZATION IS OF OVERALL
BENEFIT TO YUGOSLAVIA OR NOT. CERTAINLY IT IS AN
ATTEMPT TO APPEASE THE STRONG NATIONALISTIC FEELING
THAT EXISTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY. TO THE EXTENT
THAT THIS DECENTRALIZATION MAKES THE PEOPLE IN THE
INDIVIDUAL REPUBLICS FEEL AS IF THEY ARE PARTICIPATING
IN THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT, IT RELIEVES SOME OF THE
NATIONALISTIC PRESSURE WITHIN THE COUNTRY AND IS A
POSITIVE FACTOR. GOVERNMENT PLANNERS PROBABLY ALSO FEEL
THAT A MOVEMENT AWAY FROM STRICT CENTRALISM IS BENEFICIAL
TO THE ECONOMY.

9. HOWEVER, THERE ARE RISKS IN THIS DECENTRALIZATION
POLICY AS WELL. EVEN WITH THE STRENGTH OF A FINAL
UNQUESTIONED ARBITER SUCH AS TITO (NO MATTER HOW RARELY
HE PERSONALLY IS INVOLVED IN A PROBLEM), THERE ARE STILL
DELAYS IN REACHING INTER-REPUBLICAN AGREEMENTS AND
IMPLEMENTATION OF NEEDED ECONOMIC MEASURES. FURTHERMORE,
BY OPENING MORE AREAS TO REPUBLIC DECISION-MAKING, THE
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DIFFERENT REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES ARE MORE LIKELY TO
COME INTO CONFLICT DIRECTLY - THUS POSSIBLY EXACER-
BATING NATIONALISTIC FEELING. IT ALSO MAY PROVE TO BE
MORE DIFFICULT - AND UNPOPULAR - TO REASSERT CENTRALIZED
MEASURES IF THEY ARE EVER NEEDED, AS THE CURRENT MOVE
TO DECENTRALIZATION HAS BEEN VERY ENTHUSIASTICALLY

RECEIVED BY THE REPUBLICS.

10. IN THE POST-TITO PERIOD THE REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES MAY HAVE EVEN MORE REASON TO ASSERT THEIR OWN ECONOMIC WISHES, WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SYSTEM WHICH GIVES THEM THOSE POWERS. IT WILL BE A TIME OF TESTING NEW LEADERSHIP, OF UNCERTAINTY IN POWER RELATIONSHIPS. MOST IMPORTANTLY, IT WILL BE A TIME WHEN THE REPUBLICS/PROVINCES WHICH WILL MOST LIKELY BENEFIT FROM DECENTRALIZED ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING (I.E., THE DEVELOPED NORTHERN REGIONS) MAY WELL BE RELUCTANT TO SEE ANY OF THEIR POWERS DIMINISHED. ACCUSTOMED TO CONSIDERABLE LATITUDE IN THEIR ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING, AND NOT SUBJECT TO THE AUTHORITY OF A TITO WHO CAN WITH ONE WORD CUT THROUGH ANY SQUABBLING, THE REPUBLICS/PROVINCES MAY TRY TO INCREASE THEIR OWN ECONOMIC STRENGTH, AT THE EXPENSE OF THE FEDERATION AND AT THE EXPENSE OF OTHER REPUBLICS. CENTRAL FORCES MAY FIND IT HARDER TO REASSERT CONTROL IN THE ABSENCE OF TITO. WHILE IT IS IMPOSSIBLE AT THIS POINT TO JUDGE IF THE LATEST REDISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC DECISION-MAKING WILL ULTIMATELY PROVE TO BE A STABILIZING OR DE-STABILIZING FORCE, IT EMPHASIZES ONCE AGAIN THE IMPORTANCE OF THE ECONOMIC DIMENSION IN THE POST-TITO ERA.
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